

ADIBASI

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ABOUT THE JOURNAL

This is a quarterly journal dealing with articles and research findings in various social sciences, developmental strategies and other co-related matters emphasising the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It also publishes reviews of books pertaining to the aforementioned subjects.

TO THE CONTRIBUTORS

Contributions based on Anthropology, Demography, Economics, Human Geography, Museology, Planning and Sociology with particular reference to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are invited. The articles should be type-written in double space on one side of half foolscap paper. Invariably two copies of the articles should be sent. The contributors should also not forget to send their bio-data in a separate sheet alongwith the article and its brief synopsis. No remuneration is paid to the contributors. Only twenty-five off-prints of the articles are supplied. Two copies of the books should be sent for purpose of review.

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Development of Scheduled Castes after Independence

S. N. Mishra

The Constitution has provided for the appointment of a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and after the Constitution came into being i.e. 3 years after the country got independence, the Commissioner has actually been appointed and has been submitting reports on the progress of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes year after year. In the report one can get detailed statements of the progress of their education, economic development, social status etc. It is not possible in course of a short note to give all details of the progress during all the years after independence, but the progress can be broadly categorised into (1) education, (2) social, and (3) economic and an attempt has been made to give below a short resume of the progress in these fields.

1. Educational Programme

What are called the depressed classes came into being in India after the end of vedic age and decline of Samatan Dharma. The puranic age ushered in caste divisions and some castes were known as Sudras. The law giver of the time, Manu prescribed that education of Sudra children was a social offence. Manu's doctrine worked vigorously till about the middle of the 19th century and it is only then that in India, born in the lower castes, known later as Mahatma Jyotaba Phuley started a school for Scheduled Caste children in 1850. He started also an organisation called the Satya Sodhak Samaj which emphasised the importance of education for Scheduled Castes.

For the complete lack of education naturally the intellect of the Scheduled Caste people deteriorated which led to decay in their morality and end to their progress. Lack of progress also led to their living in very unhealthy surroundings.

Mahatma Jyotaba Phuley opened the gate for their progress and in the latter half of the 19th century the reformist movement like Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj and Theosophical Society followed the campaign. Subsequently the leaders of the Indian National Congress viz., Gokhale, Tilak, Lajpat Ray and above all Mahatma Gandhi and Ambedkar fought against discrimination so long practised against the Scheduled Castes and gave great importance to the expansion of education among them. It was through the noble efforts of the reformist movements and the leaders of the Indian National Congress that some progress was made but it cannot be said that the progress was spectacular. The foreign rulers did not make a serious effort to promote education among the Scheduled Castes for fear of inviting the wrath of high caste Hindus. The Education Commission of 1882 had of course recommended that all schools either maintained or aided by Government should be kept open to all castes but for almost 50 years after this recommendation the foreign Government did not undertake any sincere measure to implement it.

It is only in 1931 that a Backward Class Department was established in Bombay Presidency. A Commissioner was appointed in Madras to encourage the education of backward classes people and instructions were issued to offer the right of admission of Scheduled Caste pupils in all Government aided schools.

The situation in the princely States was not better. It is only some progressive States like Travancore, Cochin and Baroda that introduced educational facilities for Scheduled Castes in 1926. The State of Baroda abolished separate schools for them in 1931 but with disastrous results. The move was vehemently opposed

by caste Hindus and they withdrew their children from schools and in anger set fire to the standing crops of the Scheduled Castes. The recent large scale rebellion in Gujarat against reservation is a grim reminder of this violence which occurred in a part of the area more than 50 years ago.

The backward classes themselves accepted their lot as a decree of fate and there was some awakening among them only in 1917 when they instituted what is called Depressed Classes Mission Society of India which demanded compulsory and free system of education. A voluntary organisation called Vahikrit Hitakari Sangh was established in 1924 and Depressed Classes Education Society was created in 1928. These organisations worked for schooling of their children.

The above will show that some campaign or other had been waged since 1850 but the progress was very slow. In 1931 census the literacy rate among the Scheduled Castes was only 1.9 per cent. Significant changes occurred only after Independence when the Constitution guaranteed the promotion of educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and particularly of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Constitution also guaranteed to protect these classes from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. The untouchability (Offences) Act of 1955 facilitated access of the Scheduled Caste children to schools.

Due to the special measures of free food, special hostels, distribution of books, scholarships, etc. introduced after Independence, large scale progress has undoubtedly been achieved and the census of 1961 has recorded the literacy rate among the Scheduled Castes as 31.12 per cent for males and 10.93 per cent for females. This is undoubtedly a big jump from the figure of 1.9 per cent in 1931.

In spite of this increase, the gap between the level of educational development of the Scheduled Castes and the average for the society as a whole still continues to be very wide. The progress has not yet been created the desired impact in the matter of removal of economic exploitation, harassment, atrocities and social ostracism persistent backwardness in education of the Scheduled Castes is due to the slow progress of the programme. While the literacy percentage of the population in the country exclusive of Scheduled Caste and Tribe popula-

tion is 41.30, that of Scheduled Caste is only 21.38, i.e. almost half. The female literacy rate for the backward classes is on the average still 80 to 90 per cent. In the age-group of 6-11 about 80 per cent of the boys of the Harijans are still non-enrolled in schools. Similar figure for girls ranges from 59-70 per cent in the State. The situation is more disturbing in the 11-14 age-group i.e., at the Middle School stage. Over 70 per cent are not enrolled in States like Orissa, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. The proportion of non-enrolled girls is alarmingly high even now as it is 94 per cent in Bihar, 96 per cent in Haryana and 98 per cent in Rajasthan. Another indicator of educational backwardness of the Scheduled Castes is the high rate of drop-out at the primary stage. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in his report for 1979-81 has mentioned that these rates are about 75 per cent.

These figures call for serious considerations and provision of remedies. The provision of funds for development programmes for the backward communities rose from Rs. 39 crores in the 1st Plan to Rs.327 crores in the 5th Plan. A total of Rs. 744 crores has been spent in development programmes for them till the end of 1978-79, yet the benefits of development and modernisation have reached a small number of these people. The majority have not benefited from the country's advancement and still remain outside their in stream resulting in increasing discontent which, at times takes violent forms.

2. Social Status

The Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 has provided that the Harijans will be treated as any other Hindus and shall have no disabilities whatsoever in offering worship in public temples, in having access to and making use of shops, hotels, restaurants, places of public entertainments, hair cutting saloons and laundries. Steps have been taken for successful implementation of the Act, but due to age-old traditions and lack of proper education of the Scheduled Caste people it cannot be said that the implementation of the Act leaves nothing to be desired. By and large, water places provided at the expense of the State are now open for use by Harijans also, but in many places private wells and tanks are not open to them even on humanitarian grounds. In schools and colleges the Harijan students freely mix with others but in some conservative

pockets caste pupils still sit separately and they are not allowed by their parents to mix freely with Harijan boys. A few years ago a study was conducted by the writer in Jajpur subdivision and in parts of Bari block and it was found that the Harijan boys still have to sit separately. Though the law has given free access to Harijans to temples, in actual practice, these privileges are enjoyed by them only at few places. The Harijans are still not allowed into the sanctum of temples and they have to remain content only with a distant view of the deity. If they have to make any offering, they have to place fruits and flowers outside and it is the priests who take these things near the deity and offer them there. The Harijans are of course allowed now-a-days to take food in restaurants and hotels but in some of the way-side eating places where they can be identified they have to wash their dishes as the hotel boys refuse to do it. At some places separate utensils are kept for them so that the caste customers may not be scared away. Saloons and laundries are similarly used stealthily by Harijans and at many places these cannot be said to be open to them with the knowledge of the caste people.

To remove these handicaps one notices a deep yearning among the Harijan for performing religious rites like Yagnas and Pujas in their homes. They would very much welcome such functions to boost their status in society and remove the stigma the past history has put on them, if the State or private social organisations can promote such activities.

To sum up, there has been significant change in the social status of the Harijans since Independence and touching them in public is no more considered a sin calling for change of clothes or taking baths. As has been mentioned above, they further enjoy certain rights in hidden manner. This was, however, impossible before Independence as no Harijan could ever venture to enter into any Public eating houses, laundries, saloons or even approach anywhere near the temple.

3. Economic

The proportion of Scheduled Castes among the poverty groups was very large before Independence and steps have been taken in various directions to improve their economic status. By Land Reforms Legislations they have been given right of occupancy over their homesteads. In

Orissa they were mostly mere tenants-at-will so far as their homesteads were concerned and the moment they did not behave like serfs they could be thrown out of their homesteads.

The Land Reforms legislations in Orissa have given them right to the extent of 1/10th of an acre of homestead whenever they were residing on the land of big land owners. Steps have been taken to allot land declared surplus due to imposition of ceiling laws to the Harijans. By the end of 1980, as much as 5.89 lac acres of land was distributed to 4.91 lac Scheduled Caste beneficiaries. About 50 per cent of all Scheduled Caste workers are landless, but only 34.08 per cent of surplus land was distributed by the end of 1980 and only 40.92 per cent of the landless Harijan workers were given land. The allotment of surplus land, therefore, cannot be considered adequate so far as Scheduled Castes are concerned.

Liberal assistance had been given to Harijans for reclamation of land and priority has been given to minor irrigation programme in Harijan inhabited areas. Technical and financial assistance has also been provided for forming Co-operative Farming Societies of Scheduled Caste people. Such Co-operative Farming Societies, however cannot be said to have yielded much success due to lack of awakening among them and lack of honesty among the managers. In other words with all the efforts to improve the condition of the landless Harijan workers it cannot be said that their status so far as agriculture is concerned is much above what it was before Independence.

By enforcement of Minimum Wages Act, the wage rates of workers have certainly gone up everywhere, but the benefit is more than eaten up by repeated rise of prices and as yet the public distribution system has not operated vigorously to make the necessities of life available at fair rates to the down-trodden residing in villages.

ERRP and IRD Programmes have been working almost throughout the country and it has brought immense benefits to leather workers, fishermen and weavers who mostly come from Harijan Communities. This writer took part in a survey of ERRP and IRD Programmes in parts of Puri district recently and his experience with regard to their improvement of particularly

Socio-economic factors influencing birth control in a Village within the State Capital of Orissa

B. B. Moharana

Abstract

This paper is the product of my field research undertaken in the village Baramunda which is situated within the boundary of Bhubaneswar Municipality, the State capital city of Orissa. Small-family norm is now becoming a country-wide and eye-catching phenomenon which is realised by experts of different categories for controlling the population explosion. So family planning programme through birth control, which is attributed to the deliberate action of the people themselves for limiting the size of their families, incorporated under the Health Department has taken up the responsibility for making the people aware of the significance and advantages of a small family. In this paper attempt has been made to study the impact of existing socio-economic situation of the village on the

family planning behaviour of the villagers and to test whether the socio-economic variables like economic status, level of education, family size, sex of children and nature of occupation have any bearing on the acceptance of family planning norm.

Introduction

Baramunda is a multi-ethnic village, comprising caste Hindu, Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe population. This village constitutes a total number of 375 households and for the present purpose, the married couples of child-bearing age are only taken into account which varies between 15 to 49 years of age. The following table indicates the number of married couples adopted the birth control measures of different types.

TABLE No. 1

(Adopters of family planning by types of birth control measures) (1983)

Types of birth control measures	Adopters of Family Planning Programme					
	Male	% to Total	Female	% to Total	Total	% to Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Tubectomy	20	5.3	20	5.3
Vasectomy	..	8	2.1	..	8	2.1
Copper T & Loop	8	1.6	6	1.6
Ors pills
Condoms	..	2	0.5	..	2	0.5
Self -precaution	..	11	2.9	..	11	2.9
	21	5.5	28	6.9	47	12.4

This table indicates that 12.4 per cent of the total married couples have adopted the family planning measures of different types, either permanent or temporary, while the rest 87.6 per cent are the non-adopters. Now in order to test the possible socio-economic factors which inhibit the non-adopter group from accepting the small family norm, the following five types of responses have been tested.

(i) *Economic Standard*—The economic standard of each married couple belonging to age-group of 15 to 49 years, is determined in terms of the per capita income of the members of the family. It is computed by the total income of the family divided by the total number of members on the basis of units calculated by Lusk's co-efficient—

Males above 14 years of age	.. 1 unit
Females above 14 years of age	.. 0.83 unit
Males and females between 10 to 13 years of age	.. 0.83 unit
Males and females between 6 to 9 years of age	.. 0.70 unit
Males and females between 1 to 5 years of age	.. 0.50 unit
Children below one year	.. 0.00 unit

(Census of India—1969, Vol. XI-Mysore-Part-VI-Village Survey Monographs, No. 10, Page-68)

TABLE No. 2

(Adopters and Non-adopters by per capita income)

Sl. No.	Per capita income in rupees	Number of married couple			
		Total	Non-adopters	Adopters	% of Adopters to Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	0—50	.. 55	38	17	31.00
2	51—70	.. 100	80	10	10.00
3	71—90	.. 64	56	8	12.5
4	91—110	.. 79	70	9	11.4
5	111—130	.. 37	32	5	13.5
6	131—150	.. 28	23	5	18.0
7	151—200	.. 21	15	6	28.6
8	201 above	.. 2	2

This table indicates the percentage of adopters to the total number of married couples on the basis of per capita income of each member of the family. Here family is referred to mean the married couples between the age-group of 15 to 49 years along with their unmarried dependent children. It is found that the seventh per capita income group i. e., 151 to 200 rupees, have accepted the family planning programme at a higher rate, i. e., 28.6 per cent and also the lowest per capita income group i. e., 0—50 rupees, equally accepted the programme at a higher rate, i. e., 31 per cent. The reason for their acceptance may be due to the fact that the people having lowest per capita income could realise the problem of economic liability with enlargement of their family and moreover these people also have been allured by cash incentives given by the Government for this purpose. The people of seventh income group have the self-realisation of the benefits of the family planning programme which encourages them to adopt the programme. They have not adopted it for cash incentive. But among other income groups the degree of response is little low due to the fact that they consider birth as a matter of godgift phenomenon and occur by chance rather than by human choice and volition.

(ii) *Level of Education*—For calculation of the level of education of each married couple the average of the educational status of both the partners have been taken into account.

The following table shows the percentage of couples who have responded to family planning Programme on the basis of their educational standard.

TABLE No. 3

(Adopters and Non-adopters by level of Education)

Level of Education		Number of Married couples			
		Total	Non-adopters	Adopters	No. of adopters to total
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Illiterate	..	71	63	8	11.27
Up to 3rd	..	77	64	13	17.0
Up to 5th	..	127	108	19	15.0
Up to 7th	..	63	55	8	12.7
Up to High School	..	37	29	8	21.7
College	..	11	7	4	36.3

It is found from the above table that the couples having High School or College Education responded to the programme quite satisfactorily, i. e., 21.7 per cent and 36.3 per cent respectively while the illiterates showed less interest in the programme which is evident from the percentage, i. e., 11.27.

(iii) *Family Size*—The family size has been categorised into 4 categories depending on the number of persons found in a family; those are: Small family consisting of one child; medium family consisting of 3 children; large family consisting of 5 children; and very large family consisting of more than 5 children.

TABLE No. 4

(Adopters and Non-adopters by family size)

Family size		Number of married couples			Percentage of adopters to total
		Total	Non-adopters	Adopters	
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Within 1 member	..	138	134	4	2.8
Within 3 members	..	139	128	11	7.9
Within 5 members	..	84	67	27	32.1
More than 5 members	..	26	7	18	72.0

This table reveals that the family having more than 5 members have responded to the programme more effectively than the small size families, and the reason might be to check further enlargement.

(iv) *Sex of Children*—Usually the orthodox Hindus have a craze for male issues. So sex of Children, as one of the socio-economic criterion, has been selected in order to test the response of the villagers to this programme. For this purpose the households are classified into 4 categories depending on the number of male child, such as no male child, one male child, two male children, and more than two male children.

TABLE No. 5
(Adopters and Non-adopters by sex of children of the household)

Sex of children (1)	Total (2)	Number of Married couple		Per cent of adopters to total (5)
		Non-adopters (3)	Adopters (4)	
No male child ..	124	121	3	2.5
One male child ..	93	85	8	9.4
Two male children ..	73	62	11	17.7
More than two male children	96	58	38	65.5

It is found from the above table that the couples having more than two male children have adopted the programme more than the couples having no male child. Thus it proves that the villagers have a craze for male issues, and this social factor dampens people's interest in adopting family planning measures, even though many couples have been suffering from more number of female issues.

(v) *Occupation*—It is also necessary to test the percentage of married couples who have adopted family planning programme vis-a-vis their occupations. The occupations of the villagers are broadly classified into seven categories, such as, labour, farming, salaried employment, business, stock-raising, hotel-keeping and artisan and craftsman.

TABLE No. 6
(Adopters and Non-adopters by occupation)

Occupation (1)	Total (2)	Number of Married couples		Per cent of adopters to total (5)
		Non-adopters (3)	Adopters (4)	
Farming ..	31	28	5	16.13
Labour ..	134	121	13	9.7
Salaried Employment ..	121	96	25	29.0
Business ..	67	56	11	16.26
Hotel-keeping ..	4	2	2	50.0
Stock-raising ..	2	2
Artisan and craftsman ..	27	23	4	14.8

The couples having salaried employment, business and farming as their occupation have responded at a higher rate of 20 per cent, 16.26 per cent and 16.13 per cent respectively, while the percentage of response from the labour class is 9.7 per cent only. One exception to this analysis is that the couples of hotel-keeping occupation whose number is quite few, have responded to the norms of family planning which is 50 per cent.

Analysis

From the above tables it is found that better per capita income, occupation like salaried employment or business and educational achievement could enlarge the scope of family planning programme of the city as is evinced from the data collected from this village. The responses of couples to family planning when compared among the caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe, it is found that the percentage of adopters belonging to Adivasi and Harijan group are only 8.5 and 9.0 respectively which is probably due to low per capita income and lack of formal education.

The study made in Kechanakuppe village in Bangalore district of Karnataka State by Mauli (1981) fits into Baranmunda village situation, who has stated that socio-economic condition of the people can bring about better rates of adoption of Family Planning Programme. In other words, the consciousness of birth control, the world-wide pervasive problem should make strides along with the socio-economic development if it has to widen its clientele. In this connection, it may be added that gradual exposure of the people to city life through their interaction with urban forces has brought about some impact, atleast on the socio-economically better off ones, who could accept the birth control measure so as to avoid the existing crises in the society while others have failed to accept due to lack of socio-economic stamina and impetus.

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THE RELEVANCE OF TRIBAL SURVEYS IN INDIA

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and

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Tribal societies have been found in all parts of the world and there has been largest concentration of tribes in India and Africa. According to 1961 Census, there were 212 different tribes in India with a population of 29.88 million. The population increased to 36 million by 1970-71 (as per 1971 Census Report). By the year 1971, the total population of the tribes in India was 7.02 per cent of the total population of the country. Again the population increased to 51 million by 1980-81 (as per 1981 Census Report). And by 1981, the total population of tribes in India was 7.96 per cent of the total population of the country. The constitution of India has regarded these 'tribes' as 'Scheduled Tribes' as per its Article 342, by which they were made eligible for 'special provisions and facilities'. The various tribal groups in India are living in—(1) North-Eastern region—Nagas, Chhatis, Aka, Limbu, Kachari, Kulushaya, Rabha, Left, Gurung, Miam, Mihar, Goroachama, Bhoiya, Dalls, Abhoramiri, etc. in the States of Assam, Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur, Meghalaya and NEFA, (2) Eastern and Central Region—Baiga, Gond, Ho, Bhil, Bhumi, Kharis, Bhuyan, Kandh, Maria, Koli, etc., in the States of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar, and (3) Southern Region—Toda, Badaga, Chenchu, Irulu, Kadukuru, Jenukuru, Mithuvan, Karikar, Chetta, Godaha, Ghil, Kadar, Yerava, Kudiyu, Pochhi, Adavichencha, Hornashikari, Soliga, etc. in the States of Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu; and many other tribes are found in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan. Thus, tribes in India are cosmopolitan in distribution. Various tribes in India have often retained their own cultural specificities and characteristics. Different tribal groups differ from one another in their population, pattern of distribution and cultural conditions

because of the ecological and geographical differences. Some tribes live in dense forests, some in hilly areas, some in coastal areas, some in urban and rural areas and yet some other groups are nomadic, semi-nomadic in nature without having any distinct locality to live in.

There cannot be a full-fledged, clear-cut definition, for the meaning and the concept of the term 'tribe'. In general terms, a tribe may be defined as an 'indigenous, homogeneous unit, speaking a dialect (or sometimes the state language) having a common descent, living in a particular geographic area, backward in technology, preliterate, loyally observing social and political customs based on kinship'. This definition also holds good for nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes except for the fact that they will be nomadic in nature. Thus, tribal groups have some common elements in their life viz. they live in a common place, speak their own dialect (sometimes the state language) and possess a political organization of their own. Their cultures will be different from other cultures. Tribes can be called as communities, as "Community Sentiment" and 'we feeling' are strong in them. Except a few, most of the tribal groups in India are considered as 'Primitive Societies'. Governmental efforts are of course slowly bringing changes in the tribal societies.

Most of the tribal societies were self-sufficient in nature for fairly a long period of time. But now many of them are gradually coming under the influence of modern life. Hunting, fishing, cultivating, collecting honey, roots, fruits and vegetables were the common activities of men. Weaving, basket making, cooking, child-rearing were the activities of women. Some

women also used to go with their husbands for collecting food. Barter system still exists in some of the tribal sections. Majority of tribal societies in India are still illiterate societies having only a few people educated and employed in various occupations. It also appears from the reports that development in all aspects of life has not been brought to the expected and accepted levels in all tribal societies even after 40 years of independence of our country. Most of the tribal societies are largely traditional and they often resist innovative changes. Such a phenomenon is more so amongst interior, hilly and forest tribal people. Wide spread poverty is further a glaring fact. Concomitant to poverty and illiteracy is the problem of alarming rate of growth of population, which is further complicated by stratification in tribal social structure in terms of religion, language, food mannerisms, race, etc. All these perhaps account for the non-responsiveness of the majority of our tribal people for modern values. Under such a situation, development for the purpose of cultural integration of the tribal sections into the broad, secular, national culture is a hard task to be achieved.

The Constitution of India has accepted Socialistic Pattern of Society as its ideal. It has also stated in its preamble that it aims at creating a democratic society based on justice—social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and opportunity. Further, it aims at promoting amongst all citizens fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and unity of all forms of nation. It implies the creation of society free from all forms of exploitation based on individual liberty, social solidarity and co-operation. The government of India wants to bring about these changes of all sections of people including that of tribal sections through democratic and secular ways. But tribal people as already pointed out, by and large are illiterate and ignorant to respond favourably to modern values. So there can not be progress of the tribal societies if all the tribal people do not respond favourably by participating actively in all the developmental activities of the country. Therefore, our first duty will have to be to improve the mental level (awareness level) of the tribal people through a variety of programmes, for which it becomes necessary to undertake extensive and intensive surveys to understand the nature and structure of the tribal societies including attitude of the tribal people towards different dimensions of social change, viz.

educational, social, economic, political, health and sanitation religious and cultural aspects. Such sort of in-depth and exhaustive surveys provide a great deal of data on the basis of which different types of programmes can be formulated to improve the entire base of the tribal life. Gradually, over a period of time, when tribal peoples' awareness level starts improving, tribal people shall understand the relevance of different developmental programmes and shall also participate in the same meaningfully. Such a meaningful participation shall in fact, take tribal sections a long way in the process of modernization. But the surveys undertaken by the developmental experts in the beginning before launching any programme to get bench mark data should have both the dimensions of horizontality and verticality covering all aspects of life, so that one may not face any sort of problem later on while formulating programmes of different types and at different levels for the modernization of different tribal societies.

Educational aspects should include the nature of learning process as is going on in schools; availability of physical facilities equipments, charts, aids, library, play materials, school rooms with sufficient lighting and ventilation, drinking water, latrine and playground facilities; activities of the schools—teaching—learning activities, tours, trips, shramdan activities, film show arrangements, adult education, examination, medical examination to children, mid-day meal programme; compulsory primary education—enrolment, wastage, stagnation, absenteeism, concessions to various types of backward children and their dissemination; parent—teacher association, school betterment committee, learning difficulties of pupils, social backgrounds of problem facing children; teachers, their qualifications, motivation to work as teachers in community activities, problems of administration and supervision of schools. Educational aspects should also include the working condition of non-formal educational institutions—both official and voluntary ones.

Social aspects should include clan relations, kinship practices, interaction, intermixing behaviour, untouchability practised by other groups, if any, family types, status of women, marriage and related aspects, ornaments used, dress pattern by men and women of different age-groups, nature, structure, types and functioning of youth dormitories, languages spoken and individual or family contribution towards the group/clan upliftment. To understand the social aspects of life of our

tribal people surveys should be undertaken to know—(1) The actual practices of tribal people in the aforesaid areas; and (2) the awareness about modern development in various social institutions with the reasons for either acceptance or rejection of them both at the attitudinal and behavioural level.

Economic aspects of life should include various economic institutions present in different tribal villages—Post Office, Bank, Shops of various types; Population of tribal settlements (includes both tribal villages and hamlets)—income-wise, caste-wise, sex-wise, occupation-wise, religion-wise and literacy-wise; transportation and communication facilities—nature of roads, bus and bus stop facilities, post, telegraph and telephone facilities, occupational pattern; agricultural conditions of different tribal areas—size of the land holdings, total area of the cultivable land, bonded labour commitment, population of landless people, use of hybrid seeds, insecticides, chemical fertilizers, use of machinery in agriculture, animal sacrifices in agricultural operations, availability of permanent irrigation facilities, important crops and other products of different tribal areas, quality and quantity of food production; industrial conditions of different tribal areas—small-scale, large-scale and cottage industries, their actual conditions, quality and quantity of goods produced, marketing facilities; other traditional occupations—hunting, fishing, stone cutting, weaving, basket making, broom preparation and such other home industrial production; use of technological aids, if any, in production, mixing of economic activities with religion and magic, consumption patterns, use of currency, barter system, conception of property, specialists, if any, in different economic activities, profiteering quality, if any, and standards of living of tribal people in different tribal areas. Furthermore, surveys conducted to know the economic conditions of tribals in different areas should also inquire about the activities of the Block Development Department, the actual implementation of various programmes with the resultant impact produced on the tribal life. In addition, to understand the economic aspects of tribal people better, attitudes of tribals should also be known towards modern developments in economic institutions by which one can also trace the gulf or the gap between the attitudinal responses and actual behaviours, with the reasons for holding or not holding modern attitudinal and behavioural patterns.

Political aspects should include aspects like primitive Government, law, criteria of justice, way

of seeking justice, traditional authority, the way of enforcement of law, rewards and punishment measures in case of violation of different laws, adult franchise (awareness and actual practice), party system, kinship groups, basis of other forms of groupism, working conditions of tribal panchayats towards the development of tribal settlements with the type of leadership in different areas.

Health and sanitary aspects should include aspects like cleanliness of roads, streets, water tanks, walls, their surroundings, lighting, ventilation in the houses; cleanliness of different individuals frequency of bathing and washing clothes, cleanliness practices after attending to nature calls; different types of physical handicaps and diseases; death of adults, children, women and animals in various parts due to a variety of handicaps and diseases of various kinds including epidemic ones; availability of health and medical facilities—hospital, primary health centre, doctors, with other needed staff members, lady doctor for maternity section; actual effectiveness of health institutions and personnel in their work, medical shops and transportation facilities to the nearest places where medical facilities do exist, frequency of using modern health and other medical facilities by the people; veterinary ayurvedic and indigenous dispensaries; local herbal medicines used commonly by one and all on their own knowledge, use of magic and sorcery in treating diseases; family planning practices including indigenous ones, availability of local sayas to help delivery cases; and food habits of different groups of tribal people. By studying the actual health and sanitary practices, with reasons for not adopting the modern ways of improving health and sanitation of the tribal people, one can get an idea to plan for the improvement of health and sanitary conditions of tribal settlements with the help of suitable programmes.

The cultural conditions of life should include aspects like jatra, mele, exhibitions, samelanas, katha, synthetic art, activities like dance, drama, group or collective singing; plastic art activities like carving, modelling; graphic art activities like drawing and painting; folklore—myths, legends, fables or tales, proverbs, riddles, puzzles, lavania; festivals and sankaras (initiation ceremonies); and sports, games and wrestling matches conducted as a part of cultural activities in tribal societies. Surveys conducted to know these also reveal the importance of cultural activities in the life of tribal people (social, religious and moral values). In addition,

one can also see the artistic aesthetic creative and constructive abilities present in our tribal people. By knowing the positive and modern values present in the cultural dimension of our tribal societies, efforts could be made to conserve such values and also by knowing the traditional values present in the cultural aspect of life, efforts could also be made to change them towards desirable direction.

Religious aspects of life should include aspects such as the importance that tribal people hold towards Gods, Goddesses, deities, concepts like *mana*, *bonga*; types and the frequency of *poojas* (worships) offered; animism, animatism, totemism, naturalism, religious rituals, and taboos, faith in immortality of soul, faith in rebirth, faith in various moral principles, belief in ghosts, witches, practice of witchcraft, magic, sorcery, belief in suspicious and insuspicious days and situations, belief in Gods and Goddesses, as the sources of meeting natural favours, belief in the idea of visiting pilgrimages, belief in animal sacrifices and; impact of religion on daily life resulting in the practice of values like benevolence, alms-giving, forbearance, non-violence, dogmatism, exploitation, laziness and fatalism, violence and war, and demise and hatred. An inquiry in to all these aspects of tribal people reveal the extent of the influence of religious values on their daily life-style. By knowing the traditional values present in the religious dimension of life, suitable efforts could be made to change the tribal people's attitudes and practices in positive directions.

Surveys can also identify pathological conditions of different tribal communities like crimes, disputes, conflicts, thefts, murders, robbery, dacoity, smuggling, drink addiction, beggary, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, human sacrifice, female infanticide and such others. The identification of these conditions in different communities gives us the clue to pay more attention to those groups which have severe pathological conditions after thoroughly knowing the reasons for the existence of such conditions.

In all it can be said that tribal surveys conducted on the above mentioned dimensions of life reveal the actual practices of the people, their attitude towards various aspects of social change with causes for either resistance or acceptance of modern values. In other words, tribal surveys will give us an idea of the extent of the gulf present between the attitudes and practices of our tribal people on various aspects

of life. On the basis of these surveys short-term and long-term developmental programmes can be formulated to improve the tribal life. In other words, such surveys do provide the basis for planning and organization of developmental activities. In addition to these, tribal surveys may also identify certain innovations present in the tribal life (An innovation is a modern practice present in a tribal community which is in fact absent among the so called, self-proclaiming modern people).

Tribal surveys conducted after a lapse of time, after the plans are being implemented also reveal the effectiveness of the programmes of block development departments and other voluntary agencies. In other words, tribal surveys will also be of evaluative type to assess the set objectives and to re-plan for the future development.

Tribal surveys may be of descriptive type or explanatory type or comparative type or of evaluative type or even case studies depending upon the nature and scope of the surveys.

Finally, it can be said that in a country like India which is committed to democratic way of living, changes will have to be brought about through peaceful ways. Further, each and every developmental activity should be directed towards the improvement of quality life of our tribal people, as we have accepted the ideal of Socialist Pattern of Society which means that the fruits of development should spread equitably to all sections of our population including that of the tribal sections. So an understanding of the life conditions of the tribal people becomes very much essential to launch and relaunch the programme to move our tribal societies towards the desired state of modernization. But the sorry state of affairs in India is that development efforts are not being attempted first by undertaking basic socio-economic surveys of the above mentioned type in all tribal areas. Development has been often confused for economic upliftment only. And modernising our tribal people on all aspects of life has not yet received full attention of our developmental experts in all areas, which is in fact, very much evident by the conspicuous absence of a variety of programmes at different levels for allround development in different tribal areas. And therefore, while formulating developmental schemes, the nature and the structure of programmes are being often decided arbitrarily. And, that is how many tribal developmental programmes are being met with a lot of resistance as the tribal people

re not yet prepared for new changes in many ways. And in those cases where efforts are being made forcefully to implement the programmes, it is seen that many programmes are contributing to the distortion in the life styles of our tribal communities and so many tribal communities are on war path with the developmental officials. Our developmental experts and authorities should therefore not be very rigid enough to ask each and every tribal community to respond favourably like "a progressive tribal community" to all the developmental programmes at any particular point of time, as there may not be readiness in every community for a particular type of change, because of cultural rigidities. In such cases, changes will have to be brought about very informally by providing transportation and communication facilities, more avenues and opportunities for mobility, so that people get exposed to modern values on their own and thus change process slowly sets in on its own. And again, in certain tribal communities, if their is positive response for a particular modern value or a set of modern values which is being proposed by the developmental experts, may be because such a proposed value or a set of values is in consonance with their already existing culture, one should not take it for granted or be in haste to jump into the conclusion that to change the tribal people towards other modern values on other dimensions of life or to change even other tribal communities on all dimensions of life is relatively an easier job for a tribal community which might respond favourably to one set of modern values may not respond similarly for other modern values on other dimensions of life. Therefore, unless the interlinkages of various factors to different dimensions of life in different tribal communities are understood in a very holistic fashion, no one will be in a position to suggest a suitable formula of phased and planned developmental programmes for any particular community. Thus, to determine the types, level and the intensity of various developmental programmes to be planned and implemented in a phased manner

one has to take the help of holistic or anthropological studies. Block development departments should take the responsibility of conducting indepth case studies to know where tribal societies of their jurisdiction stand in the process of social and cultural evolution. In all, it can be said that to know the level of different dimensions of life, level of readiness for change, hurdles that would come in the process of bringing about change and to plan and replan suitable developmental programmes—extensive and intensive studies of tribal communities, are a dire need of the day. And without the basis and support of such tribal surveys, developmental efforts would be often zig-zag, haphazard, unsystematic, unscientific, directionless or even misdirected. Such undirected or misdirected activities would only result in a lot of wastages of time, energy and efforts of people at various levels, further creating the problem of cultural integration of the tribal sections to the national stream of main culture. Thus, only proper planning and implementation of the developmental programmes which have the sound basis of extensive and intensive tribal studies (surveys) can only help various tribal societies to move towards the desired state of tribal modernization—cultural integration. And any improper planning and/or execution (without the basis of empirical studies) as is being often done in many tribal areas of our country will not only fail to bring about the needed change and development but will also give rise to a state of aversion in the minds of tribal people for stray developmental programmes (economic benefit schemes). And in that case the country can hardly hope to succeed in the process of cultural integration of the tribal people into the stream of broad, secular culture in the years to come. Therefore, conducting extensive and intensive tribal surveys to understand all aspects of tribal life with all the minute details in all areas is an urgent need of the day, to take our tribal communities a long way in the process of headlong modernization.

A note on Institutionalized Bond-friendship system among the Tribes of Orissa

P. M. Nanda

Introduction

Most of our relationships are chained with socialities and kinship structure of the society. The relationships may be consanguineal, affinal or fictive but they have their social meaning in their respective fields. On the whole, they give an institutional frame on which the social obligations are clothed.

Social Institutions encompass the criteria like territorial obligations, age-set systems, political and ritual associations etc. They are patterned through kinship obligations and relative sanctions of a given society. Kinship structure provides some restrictions and binds relationship which is direct and has limit to certain extent, but bond-friendship extends a little farther and frame the institutionalized mode which is more obligatory rather compulsive. Again the friendship is incidental and may or may not carry any ceremonial or ritual performances but it is permanent unlike other institutions of the society.

It was Mandelbaum (1938), who reported about a new pattern of relationship which was termed as institutionalized friendship. According to his report, the friendship among the Plains Cree Americans, which involves both the families in brotherly relationship continuing beyond the death of one of the friends. But such type, lacks some expressive quality with other societies without having any ritual solemnization. But the friendship which often we may come across that is ritual friendship. It may be termed as ceremonial friendship or bond-friendship.

In one sense, institutionalized friendship is rather kin-like or consanguineal. It carries the similar obligations as do the kin group observes. The taboo relating to sex, food commonality and joking and reciprocity of

kinship terminology, observing the similar status and prestige, differentiation and respect according to one's age and sex, in each other's society and the other type merely carries the obligation between the so called friends not beyond their respective family members. Prof. L. K. Mahapatra in his article "Ritual Kinship in Peasant Societies" termed them separately as Ritual Friendship and Kinship "Ritual Friendship". He gave the distinction between the two as in one, a stronger tie is symbolized through the obligatory of observing ritual pollution at the time of birth or death in the other friend's family where as in the other, the involvement of the families is confined merely giving or receiving of gifts in important ceremonial occasions. Relating to this statement Mahapatra also stated in the same article that "unrelated individuals enter into a ritual compact to maintain an enduring relationship of a kin-like order other than marriage".

(1) So far as this paper is concerned it does not bring into a forum to identify the relative term rather, a sketch of friendship which has institutional solidarity through certain social obligatory bonds between different tribal societies of Orissa. (ii) Again this discussion keep aside the friendship which framed relating to kin-bond and which has ultimately become an affair of kin-obligation (iii) It also emphasises on the nature and type of friendship which originally brought in by means of ceremonies, rituals obligations and mutual exchange of gifts and faith by which the bond acts as an institution among the tribes of Orissa.

The following definitions may carry the necessary meaning to identify the bond-friendship or ritual-friendship of ceremonial-friendship as an institution.

While defining institution, Malinowski stated that "it is the social arrangements that can be said to meet needs and therefore, have functions and an institution was for him, a complex of organized activities in which particular persons are expected to co-operate". Ginsberg also noted in the similar tone that "institutions are definite and sanctioned forms or modes of relationship between social beings in respect to one another or to some external object". As per W.G. Sumner's view "the structure of a social institution consists of personnel, equipment, organisation and ritual".

Bond-friendship is therefore, an institution which confines the needs of man and the society, enables people to satisfy their needs in an orderly way. By this the friend receives the conformity to enter into one another's socio-cultural life, extend hands in socio-religious functions help each other in one another's economic or financial crises and perpetuate the bond by means of faith, obedience, respect and means of reciprocity, though they cement the bond through rituals and symbolizations (which carries faith with objects). Bond-friendship may be stopped at the death of others or pull down at any moment during one's life time, or handed over generation to generation still then it carries some moral sanctions between the families. Bond-friendship is therefore, an institution clasp through the life style of the tribal and continues till to day.

The essence of Bond-friendship

1. In most cases ritual friendship is based on mutual attractions, affections and voluntary choice between the two contrasting persons. Such choice may be extended up to the personal endeavour, necessity and the act of mutual obligations. In some societies it follows ritual or ceremonial practices where Evanspithard called as 'Conditional Cousin' Mahapatra (1968) called as 'Crisis Kinship'. Whatsoever, it relates to some ritual practices only to strengthen the bond between the friends and they made some object as witness (sakhi) of their making of friendship. When they like to break up such relationship due to some mutual disturbances, (like loss of faith, disobedience) they usually go for similar ceremonial practices or simply detach the tie which was established during their friendship.

2. Friendship is established during different needs of life, such as economic crisis, political need, religious functions, etc. It is also established for mutual help, co-ordination and merry-making.

3. In another case it may simply establish by a mutual gift just to find a friend. It may restrict to sex or extend between the sexes. The presented gift very well refers to their technological notation towards each other. However, such tie may not be a cementing bond between the two friends, it may break without any reason or explanation.

4. Another type of bond which is very keenly institutionalised in tribal society is 'Babu' relationship. The tribals may often come in contact with middlemen, contractors, petty traders, or the lower level workers of the forest, revenue and police administrators, employer, teachers, researchers or certain outsiders on whom they can establish faith of getting help at one's time of need.

5. There are tribal communities in Orissa who make such ritual-friends keeping in a view to establish alliance relationship. The friends may act as prospective father-in-law of their children or the two friends may act as prospective spouses. But in every case it is not a binding principle.

The following discussions are nothing but the analysis of the above facts in different tribal communities of Orissa.

Baigas

The Baigas establish ritual friendship just as the Hindus. They have a highly developed organization of friendship. 'Phul' friendship is the most distinctive form of relationship established and maintained through rituals and moral obligations. The Baigas have a simpler ritual of admission. Two friends may be going through the forest, or the fields; they feel a sudden wave of affection for one another. They pick a flower, a creeper, some vegetables, put it over each others ears, and greet each other by the appropriate name. The name must refer to the flower, creeper or vegetable what one offers to the other. They originally address each other in the name viz. Kodon-Koril, Char-mau, Latbhaji Gulab-phul, Amarbil, Kelapan, Gonda-phul, Amomaur, Tilwar-phul. These are locally available fruits, flowers and creepers. After which they observe a ritual before the village deity in order to make the deity as witness. They declared about their friendship in each others village and made known to the family members.

Bhumij

Bhumij establishes a type of friendship which is known as 'Babu'. It necessarily carries ritual functions or simply an affair of establishing as such. Sometimes they make friendship with the petty traders who peddle their goods in the interior tribal areas or even with the herdman who tend their cows and buffaloes and sojourn in the hills and jungles of the tribal areas for rich pasture. The tribesmen have often to exchange some of their products in the villages or weekly markets along the fringes of their tribal areas. Sometimes the tribesmen also have to take a loan of grains or earn money from the creditors in the nearest villages. By this they establish a relationship which is very much similar to bond-friendship. Such friendship may not carry any ritual sanction still then it maintains the mode of solidarity and conformity of mutual faith and obligation between the non-kinbased individuals. Prof. Sinha also noted that most frequently the ritual relations were established with the Mahato Caste of agriculturists, who had advanced in their status towards Kshatriya Varia and were influential and wealthy in the area. Sinha, clearly notes that, "ritual friendship/kinship" is a means of gaining social prestige and some people utilize the friendship as a means of gaining land from the friend".

Birhor

Bond-friendship is the most dignified relationship among the Birhors in Orissa. Their principle is very similar to the Orsons. When the two boys perceive a strong attachment for each other and desire to make the bond permanent, they enter into a form of artificial friendship with the approval of their parents. They call their ritual friend as 'Phul' (a flower) while they make such friendship they usually stick flowers above each other's ear, clasp each other in a cordial embrace, call each other "my flower" and swear eternal friendship. Mutual feasting and present of clothes to each other follow either on the same day or on a subsequent day.

Another type of friendship which is prevalent among them is very ritualistic in nature. According to them it is known as Karamdair and Jibadair. The Karamdair associated with Karam festival and established on the very day of the festival, in which instead of flower they stock a Karam leaf (a tree) above the ear. Similarly in the Jiba Puja, 'Jibadair friendship' is

established between the two friends. During this Puja the two friends swear with a Jiba leaf and the friendship is solemnized before a branch of the Jiba tree on the very day. They regard it as very auspicious and they do not want to break such type of friendship during one's life time. The two friends interact with one and others social life and they feel as a dignity to invite the friend in one another's socio-cultural functions.

Didayi

Didayi perpetuates their friendship through certain conditions and ceremonies. According to Evanspithard, such type is known as Conditional Couse. The friendship relates to some ritual practices only to strengthen the bond between the friends and they made certain objects as witness (Sakhi) of their relationship. When the ritual friends meet, break a piece of thread to announce their lives will break like thread. It is expected when there is mutual quarrel or disobedience of faith arise. However, it may involve some supernatural actions and beliefs.

Dongaria Kondh

'Sa' relationship is a type and perpetuating bond among the Dongaria Kondhs of Niyangli Hills. It is mainly the people of same age-group establish 'Sa' relationship for which comradeship and occasional presentations are exchanged.

The type which is prevailed among the females is known as "Ad". The bond friends call each other as "SILURBANI" though they are addressed differently by their parents. The Dongaria establish such friendship with the Dom people in the locality. It is established ceremoniously with the exchange of gifts and counter-gifts. It is established in order to have a better compromise with the other communities, with a view to exchange help at their needs.

Gadaba

The Gadabas are generally clasped with a variety of friendly ties. It intricates into the social net work of the tribe at various levels. It maintains an institutional status, by perpetuating the bond, extending social ties and relationships. The bandhu relationship is non-kinbased and treated in the manner as ordinarily a friend behaves. In their bandhu relationship they make casual friends and serious friends which originally differ from each other from its morality as well as degree of intensity. The bond-friendship or ritual-friendship is established between two

unrelated persons, undergo some ritual and bind themselves to maintain the friendly relations with all sincerity.

The establishment of friendship starts just by an offering of 'Bidi' or exchange of salutation to each other which ultimately extends to the mutual exchange of gifts between the two formal friends. 'Maitra' relationship is generally established by some ritual performances and oath taking before local deity. It is such type of relationship which is not restricted to the two friends but extends between the families, groups, villages and even between the caste people. They remarked the village as 'Maitra' village or 'Bandhu' village. Such type of friendship has a greater ritual sanctity and has a permanent value in the society. Breaking up of such relationship or bringing pause to the continuance of the rule of conduct would lead to vengeance of supernatural.

It is established by each member of a particular generation, take members of the corresponding generation as his 'Maitra'. The kinship terminology also arranged in the similar fashion between the two Maitra families, and henceforth the members call each other and behave just like a single family. They visit each other's house not as a case of compulsion but valued the social or moral obligation prevailed in the family. They behave informally (not as a kin member) in each others festive occasions and social rituals like birth, marriage, death and reciprocates in each case very cordially. Here, though, the relationship from the outsider seems formal but the reciprocal behaviour is compulsory and played the most distinct and dignified role in their social life.

They have another type of friendship which is established at individual level can be grouped in two types—the unisexual and bi-sexual bond friends. The terminology relating to such type of friendship are Maitra, Sangata or Babu. The establishment of "Sangata-Maitra" relationship is very simple and in the same cases parents take initiative to establish such relationship. They usually select the man who has good caliber in certain aspects like dance, music, etc. They started this relationship of sangata-maitra when the two partners work and play together, either at the time of going to the forest for wood or at the time of visiting the villages of Bandhu Girls (potential mates) for dance or merry-making. This relationship is very much confined to the village or nearby villages of the tribals.

They also established such relationships occasionally with the outsiders and especially with known caste people, who have certain distinctions of their own and from whom they can learn something. They usually termed them as "Babu".

"Babu" friendship is somehow lacks ritual sanctity. It is based on mutual love, noble feelings, momentary gain, help or faith.

Bi-sexual friendship is established before marriage and after marriage. However, such relationship is not a case of compulsion, rather in most cases boys and girls make such type of friendship when they come in contact with one another in festivals, market, forests, work (wage labour), natives house, dancing expeditions, occasional meetings, etc. In this relationship ritual performances are not mandatory but mutual exchange of gifts and money is necessary.

Jhodia Poraja

Making of friends and perpetuating the established bond is treated as an aspect of social life among the Jhodia Poraja. Friendship can be established within the sexes and in between the two sexes. It also may or may not follow any specified ceremony. But it eventually follows a specific bond in between the friends. The bond is established with faith, obedience, and reciprocity of relative behaviours through mutual obligations. It may linger or break at the midstump.

Jhodia Potaja originally have friends with certain motives. They make 'samudi' relationship. Samudi is originally treated as prospective father-in-law of their children. It is not so mandatory to give hands of their children in marriage, but such obligation carries that motive through generations.

The other type of bond-friendship is 'Sal' relationship. In this relationship when the two persons are engaged to make friend they originally exchange gifts among themselves. If the friend's economic standard is good then he has to give saree, rings, bangles, ear rings, etc. It depends on his capacity and willingness. The prospective friend may also exchange gifts. In this regard the prospective girl friend give garments, rings. After this they have to give feast or distribute sweets among the villagers or the elderly members who virtually act as witness of the two new friends. It may or may not follow any ritual offerings. If so arises then they call for the priest who perform the

puja before the village deity. "Phul", "Bebu" "Sal" and "Sangata" are the technonymical terms prevailed among the two friends of the tribe.

Munda

"Sangata", "Meiser" relationship among the Mundas (Hanzas) is regarded as most auspicious in their social life. The establishment of such relationship is certainly a dignified affair among the friends. Such relationship is not restricted to their own community rather it extends to the other caste communities and so also to other tribal communities. They exchange gifts and perform puja before the village deity in order to perpetuate the bond. This type of friendship has no relation with kin-obligations.

Oraons

Artificial or ceremonial friendship is an astounding feature among the Oraons. The thing is that they do not confine such relation to their own tribe, rather they extend it to other tribe and castes. Most of these relations are solemnized on any festive or convenient day with exchange of presentations in the presence of the elderly members of the village. The village priest plays the most pivotal role in establishing such friendship. The new friends then feed each other and address with some enduring names which was selected at the ceremony. The Oraon boys name their friends as 'Ganpaja', 'Sangi', 'Mahaprasad bandhu' and in case of girls 'Gajmuga', 'Satio', 'Karamdala'.

However, these ceremonial relationships has a greater social significance and the people give it the institutional status. It not only binds the two friends but also extends the code of mutual relationship in the fields of social life, faster co-operation and intimacy, reciprocates gifts in various ceremonial occasions, etc. This relationship extends also up to the family level where family affection and respect is interchanged.

Santals

Ritual friendship or ceremonial friendship is an important factor between boys or girls, man and woman in cementing social solidarity and extending the right of the individual.

The Santals are very fond of making friendship & they make friends with outsiders and also within the tribe to streamline their social ties unlike

kin-members. Ritual-friends or bond-friends are treated as such and given more priority and prestige in different social functions.

Santal friendship among boys is formalised in three institutions. The most important is the 'Phul' friendship and alliance known as "Karmu Dharmu". They usually follow a very peculiar custom in making this type of friendship.

When two potential friends agreed to make friendship then they attend to each other with friends. Each takes a brass plate with some sweets, a flower garland and a cloth. They mostly meet some auspicious days of the tribe like mela. When the mela is over each garlands the other and gives him all he has brought. The witness then ratify the alliance by sharing the sweets. However, such friendships are fairly common in this society.

Another important friendship is Karmu Dharmu. The Santals observed "Dangwa Karma" festival which is known as "Karmu Dharmu". The festival is observed only once in each five year. During such a festive occasion two unmarried boys are called Karmu and Dharmu and continue in this role until they are married. They have to inform about their friend-making to the headman (Manjhi) and are given meal. This meal ratifies their ritual friendship and give a guarantee to the tie of permanent bond between the friends. It is regarded as a cementing bond of the two friends in their future life. During this time the ritual friends are very helpful to each other and involve in one another's life very closely which help them to build a polished manhood by sharing ideologies between themselves. This bond-friendship continues not to maintain their formalities but it streamlines their mode of conduct in the society. If occasion demands, the friends help each other's financial hazards, meet wedding expenses, help each other in cultivation and lend each other plough, cattle, they rely to each other's aid at birth, sickness or death, and assist each other with loans that are free of interest. However, all their transactions very strictly confined to the two ritualized friends and it does not extend to other relatives or even to their children. The friendship is free from any type of legal bondage, and no effect to one another's inherited properties.

The other cementing bond prevailed in Santal society is known as "Jom-nu-gato" for boys and "Beha phul" for girls. This type is not attended with ritual and is more a description of a fact

than a formal relationship. The friendship is very occasional and the tie lasts as long as the other wishes. It is not as enduring as marriage as final as death. The "jom-nu-gate," or "baha phul" relationship is framed when two friends begin to go about together—to weddings, festivals and meals—when they are always seen eating and drinking from the same plate and bowl, people start to call them as such. Obviously such friendship does not carry any obligation, legality, or economic aid. But if they reciprocate in the above manner it is not that harmful.

Unlike boys, the girls in Santal society also cement their friendship. The Santal girls do practise the same principle like boys in making 'phul' and 'karemdor' friend. The two unmarried girls exchange presents, sweets and garlands at a meal in the presence of their friends and become friend.

However, this friendship obligation is very important in the matter of emotional support and domestic aids. The friends give presents to each other such as little rings or bangles, put flowers in each other's hair, and sometimes exchange clothes. At a wedding, the bride gives her phul or karamdor, a necklace of flowers or beads. After marriage both of them visit each other, attend weddings together in their villages, or go to each other with presents at the festival of 'Sohrai'. They retained good intimacy and help each other in their crisis. Their friendship is more a declaration of affection, a public announcement of youthful love than a pact of mutual aid.

The bridge of such relationship carries a polished social harmony. A ritual friend is entitled to do and act according to the norms and customs prevailed in the society. They have to reciprocate in the similar fashion and pay respect to the relatives of each other's family. They also obey the family taboos and prohibitions relating to their social relationships. However, this relationship affects only the parties themselves and does not act as a bar to inter-marriage of their children.

Conclusion

It is needless to say that the study of bond-friendship is mostly neglected one, which has its prime role in maintaining social solidarity in a Community. However, the need to analyse this as an institution is now widely felt among different social scientists. Such relationship is designed in different names, viz. institutionalized friendship, ceremonial friendship, ritual friendship, bond-friendship and ritual or fictive kinship. But it bears a separate identity in different societies in all over the world. In the countries like North America, South America, Melanesia, New Guinea, Africa and India, it carries the institutional recognition among the tribes. So far as this type of study is concerned it has not reached its maturity in the soil and needs a wide range of investigation in all spheres of socio-cultural life of people, irrespective of tribe or caste. Aiyappan (1971) and Mahapatra (1968, 1969) has given a valuable contribution, but it is very insufficient and need extensive study in order to eliminate the contrasting and confusing characteristics by discovering the real content of bond-friendship.

Third World Anthropology and the Related Sciences : The Issues

A discussion on dimensions of Third World Anthropology and related sciences was organised by the Faculty Commission of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences on 11th August 1987 in the committee room of Indian Science Association, at Calcutta. Professor B. K. Roy Burman, Chairman, Faculty Commission, Dr. A. K. Danda, Director, Anthropological Survey of India, Professor Amitava Bose of Indian Statistical Institute, Professor Buddhadeb Ghoshdhar of the Centre of South Asian Studies, Calcutta University, Dr. Sabita Sarker of Indian Museum, Sri R. Mutsuddi, Journalist and Member of Indian Academy of Social Sciences, Dr. Somrajit Kar of Indian Science Association and Dr. Satya Chakravarty of Anthropological Survey of India participated in the discussion.

Initiating the discussion Professor Roy Burman stated that Third World Anthropology should not be considered as anthropology practised by the anthropologists of the Third World Countries only. Through its growth history anthropology had developed West-oriented bias not only in the subject matters of study but also in interpretation of situations. For instance while in terms of the sophistries advanced by many scholars of the West the Third World Countries are generally described as tradition bound and the others are modern. Professor Roy Burman provided illustrations to show that there is hardly any qualitative difference between the two. Only the West would frequently use the term convention instead of tradition in their case.

When many in the contemporary world speak of Third World Anthropology it is in the context of recognition of the need of introducing correctives to the historical bias, so that a new synthesis can take place and a globally relevant science of man may emerge.

Professor Roy Burman also clarified that as anthropology tries to be holistic in its approach, it is related not only to other social sciences but to the bio-physical sciences as well. For instance

anthropology can not ignore the implications of modern development in electronic technology. Some years ago a report came out in a scientific journal that research is moving in a direction when micro-chips can in future be planted in human brains and mutual communications would be possible even without spoken words. This, if true, raises question of philosophical nature. Human beings would then interact with one another as programmed entities and meaning of individuality and dignity of man would have to be reconstructed. As it is, computerisation of personal data of individuals, is emerging in some countries as a threat to the privacy of individuals. This does not mean that technology is not to be developed but it means that institutional framework and communication strategy both in content and process are simultaneously developed and the Third World Countries, who are still to possess much of vested interest in these matters, would have to play crucial roles.

Prof. Roy Burman then referred to the new challenges which are being faced by anthropology. Anthropologists legitimately claim pride of place in their concern for micro-studies and field investigations. This is both a source of strength and weakness for anthropology. Micro-studies may provide data for humanitarian activists. But there is a difference between humanitarianism and humanism. Unless the micro-studies are related to macro-situations, the human meaning of the insights gained through the micro-studies may be lost. So far as the Third World Countries are concerned there are two fundamental realities on National and International scales. For some time, the Third World Countries are demanding and pressing for a New International Economic order, in which unequal terms of exchange of goods and services between advanced industrialised countries, and the newly independent countries would be eliminated. But the industrially advanced countries particularly of capitalist

orientation, and the international agencies under their effective control are trying to promote minimum needs programme in the Third World countries. Many perceive these two in a dialectical relationship. The Third World oriented social scientists (not merely the social scientists of the Third World Countries) aver that in the given World situation transfer of technology means for the First World countries, consolidation of the advantages of technological development internally and externalisation of the disadvantages in the vulnerable parts of the world. Hence without change in the pattern of international relations technological development will only accentuate global inequalities. On the other hand, many in the other parts of the world, sincerely believe that there are considerable inequalities and exploitative structures and institutional trappings in the Third World countries. The New International Economic order, that the Third World Countries are clamouring for, really symbolises the aspirations of the elites of these countries and will lead to the pauperisation of mass of the population in the same countries. They consider the basic needs programme as the panacea.

This controversy raises several issues of political anthropology, bio-cultural basis of human life, culture dynamics and so on.

At the micro-level the humanitarian content of the basic needs programme, particularly those related to such needs for man's survival as food, shelter, health care education are unassailable. But many in the Third World countries feel that these programmes may also provide cover for siphoning off resources by multi-national concerns with the help of local compradors. Thus these programmes may serve as diversion from the task of bringing about a New International Economic Order. They also feel that even in the Third World countries there is a symbiotic relationship between minimum needs programme (purely in physical terms) and consumerism and consequent cultural and environmental degradation. Where the minimum needs are not satisfied through reorientation of the entire production system but through welfare programmes out of the surplus generated through the operation of an exploitative system, the international collaborators of the exploitative system, are, by virtue of their involvement in the economic and political network, wedded to consumerism, and promotion of exogenous products by pushing out indigenous skills and technologies.

There is another aspect of the problem about which also the Third World oriented social scientists are intensely concerned. Quite frequently collaborators of the neo-colonial and related internal colonial establishments are being exogenously promoted in the Third World Countries. This is done in three ways, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously; but all the same the outcome tends to be negative in import. As in all societies, even in the primitive societies of the Third World countries there are role differentiations, with varying degrees of status gradation. But all types of gradation systems do not imply presence of stratified society. There may be prerogatives of some segments of the society in the access to the resources but there may also be prescribed norms about 'fair share' for all and for redistribution of surplus so that except for some symbolic matters, consumption level is more or less equalised. Such societies are ranked societies and not stratified societies. In the stratified societies redistributive mechanism operates through historico-legal mechanism and not through historico-axiological mechanism. Hence in the stratified society character of the State and the political equation of the diverse strata with the State establishment is an important factor. Ignoring these historical processes, frequently the neo-colonial and internal colonial elites impart an unwarranted meaning to the relationship of these segments with the resources at the disposal of the society. Frequently they try to treat the custodians of communal resources as owners of the same and by corrupt means harness the communal resources for urban and metropolitan oriented market economy, by giving them a nominal share of the same. Again alienation of the stratified segment is accentuated through promoting a system of education, whose primary frame of reference is not the living reality of the life of the population, but the esoteric knowledge of the scriptures of the highly mystified science laboratories. In recent years alienated a techno-bureaucratic establishments are finding political reinforcement from an unexpected source. Some scholars of the Third World countries have of late turned into instant analysts of mode of production. In Marxian concept the relations of production certainly constitute the most important dimension of the mode of production but one has not to ignore other relations including the system of circulation and distribution and the structure

of articulation with the dominant mode of production of the State. Whereas taking an overall view, many tribal communities seem to constitute proto-proletariat status-class, instant analysts of mode of production isolate from among them the proto-bourgeois elements and provide ideological rationale for monopoly-capitalist take over of the resources through the backdoor of bureaucratic establishments. Thus a useful tool of analysis is hijacked for questionable purposes.

While the most important task of the anthropologists and related socially oriented social and bio-physical scientists is to relentlessly expose the anti-humanist anti-historical processes starting from the micro-level of local communities to the global level, they have also the dilemma of dealing with the inequalities of the Third World countries. One of the instruments of perpetuating the inequalities is the instrument of so-called "traditional" culture. Quite frequently the traditional cultures of the nations and regions are the cultures of the dominant minorities. Anthropologists have tended to romanticise the same. But closer look shows that there are diverse streams of cultures which are not subservient to the so-called 'Great Traditions' but which are refutation of the same. A purposive move to bring to be surface the liberating dimensions of culture is needed.

But more difficult is the task of demystification of science and demystification of technology. Giving an example from the soil classification system introduced by ICAR kit, Prof. Roy Burman observed that classification of the phenomena of nature is not unselfish; it is always related to some interest, some purpose. About technology again there is a myth that technological progress takes place through its own logical growth. But this is not true. He mentioned that if three decades ago adequate attention was given to the research on generation of solar energy, perhaps energy crisis of the contemporary world would have been less acute. But instead, emphasis was given on research on nuclear energy in the interest of sustaining war industry and global hegemony. It is not technology *per se* which is at fault, but it is a question of choice of technology. There can be technology primarily tied up with anticipation of world war, there can also be technology primarily tied up with the vision of World peace.

In fact all the major problems which the anthropologists are called upon to deal with today are basically related to this dichotomous situation of war and peace.

This is reflected even in inter-ethnic relations and in the functioning of nation states.

In Africa, the state boundaries are frequently the outcome of historical accidents of conquest by colonial powers. But rational redrawing of boundaries becomes impossible so long as conflicting big power hegemonic interests continue. Again in many parts of the world, there is the dilemma of recognition of the historical prerogative of the indigenous population and awareness of big power manipulation to draw the region within the orbit of war preparation and nuclear tests, polluting and degrading the environment. The social scientists and other scientists will have to examine the issues in totality and come out with a time frame about the restructuring of the world order,—may be over a length of two or three decades, so that many problems which appear intractable can be resolved rationally.

With this statement of perspective Prof. Roy Burman reverted to the issue of basic needs and physical quality of life. He suggested that the anthropologists particularly Third World oriented anthropologists should not be thwarted from pursuing the task because of its questionable origin. They should work for formulating basic needs not only with reference to the Third World countries, but in global context.... And in this both material and non-material components should be considered as a single package. Gandhi always upheld the ideal of higher standard of life and not merely a higher standard of living (Sirman Narayan 1962: Foreword to *Village Swata*, M. K. Gandhi). Galtung while mentioning about the needs such as food and water (and air) clothing, medical services, schooling, transport communication and minimum of comfort, spoke of non-material needs like self-expression, creativity, praxis, work (as distinct from job) togetherness with friends, spouse, offspring, aesthetic experience and so on.

If these are the basic needs, the First, Second and Third World countries will have to collaborate in ensuring the same for all. In this matter there are scholars like Maslow who speak of hierarchy of needs. Even in Third World countries there are many takers of such concepts. But a closer look shows that these tend to surreptitiously perpetuate the status quo.

If a global framework of basic needs is to be worked out, it has to be at two levels. At one level it will be in terms of aspects or dimensions to be covered, at another level it will be in terms of quantification. This is a complex task. The ecological aspects, the bio-physical needs related to genotypes, the cultural and historical factors are to be carefully studied. And this task, the Third World oriented scientists must do very carefully. One illustration will bring out the complexity of the task. A recent study (A. S. Mather 1986: Land use, Longman Green Group, London P 7) shows that the energy content as percentage of annual solar radiation is around 0.16 for cereal systems, 0.03 and 0.01 for pigmeat and lamb and 0.05 for milk. In ecological terms it is clearly more efficient for man to consume wheat or rice than meat or milk. As a further consequence, it follows that if man consumes much of his food in the form of meat and milk then a larger area of land is required to feed him than if he consumes vegetable products.

Obviously a rational society would move towards more balanced diet both from personal health point of view and ecological point of view. But Prof. Roy Burman mentioned that more than a decade ago he had discussed this issue with some eminent social scientists of USA and he was told that a rational adaptive change was difficult because many conventions would have to be disturbed. He felt that there would be many such areas of irrationality which are of global concern—and the Third World Anthropologists should not leave it to the social scientists, outside their orbit to decide their research priorities and draw their communication strategies in isolation. Further he referred to the need of closer look into the social processes in the socialist countries also. Recent reports show increase in alcoholism, decline in longevity, disruption of welfare services in U. S. S. R. One has to examine whether it is just an operational failure or whether it requires rethinking about the nature of human nature and the meaning of historical imperative and human transcendence,—of balance between collective goal and individual responsibility.

In the discussion that followed Dr. Amitava Bose observed that new communication technology raises several moral issues. He referred to how Michael Angelo would rather defy the canon of the Church than compromise his creative perception as an artist. One has to ponder deeply about the meaning of human freedom. Is it only

lack of obstacle to do things one likes or is it related to the cumulation of his 'historical being' in a situational context—and his right to give unfettered expression to his historical being through his action and verbal communication? It would be useful if one examines the issues over the total span of human history, even going to the realm of palaeoanthropology. There is a long term process of man's quest to harmonise individual freedom, dignity and historically conditioned social harmony. On this perspective some of the inter-ethnic conflicts can be seen as a dimension of readjustment of old pattern of domination and subordination and of silent withdrawal from conflict areas. Today with growth of transport and communication and awareness of human values, many things which were not questioned in the past are being questioned. The social scientists have to examine the issues in this historical context.

Dr. Bose also referred to the question of quality of life. In Ayurvedic system, the concept of physical well being includes a harmonious relationship between body, mind (mood of the moment) and long term mental orientation or spiritual values. Recently W. H. O. is also trying to define health in a broad term. Thus there seems to be a convergence and some of the technologies and sources of knowledge which were pushed to the background during the colonial rule are again coming up—not in a revivalistic manner, but with an awareness of their adaptive potentialities.

Dr. Buddhadeb Choudhury observed that one sphere where the connective role of Third World Anthropology has become urgent is reappraisal of the peasant movements and anti-colonial movements of the 19th and 20th Century. Generally the anthropological studies tended to provide insight to the establishment as the how to contain or avoid such disturbing phenomena. But many of these movements marked the birth pangs of social transformation. By and large the anthropologists had not tried to provide insight which the propounders of the movements could avail of for reinforcing their struggle for social transformation. One of the reasons why anthropologists failed in their task is because they moved away from analytical observation of normative history. Their commitment to functionalism accustomed their humanitarian concern but reduced their role as catalysts of humanist upsurge of history.

Dr. Setya Chakravarty agreed that the basic issue of the contemporary world is war and peace. There can be science including social science and technology which can strengthen the power of the state and there can be science and technology which can strengthen the power of the people. But the power of people cannot be strengthened in isolation for the Third World countries, which again are internally very much diversified. Inter-communication cutting across the barriers of establishments among the people of the First, Second and Third World would be needed. These can be done when basic issues of food, shelter, education, health, global environment and so on are formulated in universalistic terms. The Third World oriented scientists have definite roles to play in this matter.

Shri Mutsuddi observed that the Third World is to be perceived both as poorer world and developing world. The issue of abject poverty of utter destitution cannot be kept in abeyance, however we may be interested in the New International Economic order. The social scientists will have to work out a strategy of meeting the urgent needs on a war footing and at the same time of evolving a new world order. Perhaps what is needed is a marriage between techno-economic development strategy, and communication strategy. Today all journals and news papers contain science forums. A collaboration with social scientists will perhaps help in determining the focus and priorities in the communication strategy.

Dr. Sabita Serkar observed that an important role can be played by the museums in the emergence of new anthropology. These are store-houses of man's achievements; but also of man's struggle against many odds. Analytical studies of ethno-epistemology, ethno-science and ethno-ecology based on museum collection will provide basis for reformulating many of the axiomatic versions of anthropology.

Dr. A. K. Danda agreed that anthropology of the Third World can have relevance only in so far as it is a conscious move to correct many historical distortions and help in creating a genuine global science of man. He also mentioned that not only anthropology but all sciences suffered distortions in defining their priorities and interest areas, during the colonial rule. And it is not only in the Third World countries but also in the First and Second World, where many are carrying on determined struggles for authentic

science, authentic learning situations. The anthropologists are to be aware of them and work along with them. One of the problems which the world community is going to face sooner or later is about the nation states and artificial State boundaries. Modern communication and technology has created a global network of mutual awareness with tremendous impact on cultural processes and inter-social relations. This is a global problem. While there are aspects which are prime concerns of Third World Anthropology, there are aspects which are of common interest for all. It will be necessary to strike a balance in the intellectual pursuits and institutional arrangements. Some of the important issues however will require to be dealt with on a priority basis, for instance the question of identity. While pluralistic living in contemporary world frees individuals from many fetters, sometimes it also makes him feel in a rudderless drift. Anthropology will therefore have to address itself to some of the normative issues both in time-frame and in time-less frame of profound existential significance of man.

Shri Samarjit Kar observed that one must be cautious that concerns with national issues do not disrupt the vision of universality of science. It is through evolutionary process that achievements of modern science and technology have been attained. These are common heritages of mankind and unless we uphold the values of science and technology in an unreserved manner we shall remain backward.

Winding up the discussion Prof. Roy Burman observed that while there are universal laws of nature, there are historical-ecology specific laws of society. It will not be correct to arrive at conclusion by analogies, or by remaining prisoners of historical positivism. The Universality of man is not in homogenisation. The Universality lies in recognising the dignity of many and of man's quest to realise his fulfilment and identity extension in his existential diversities. By living in nature and with nature, the human spirit transcends nature. The science of man tries to understand the process of adaptation and transcendence. The Third World countries which have fought their liberation struggles, should now take the initiative in liberating those thought processes of generations which by and large provided legitimacy to the global pattern of domination and subordination; dependence and bondage.

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